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LIBRARY
OF THE
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GENERAL

THE

PEOPLE'S CHARTER;

WITH THE

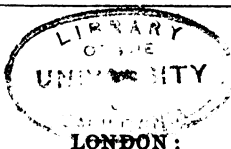
Address to the Radical Reformers

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

AND

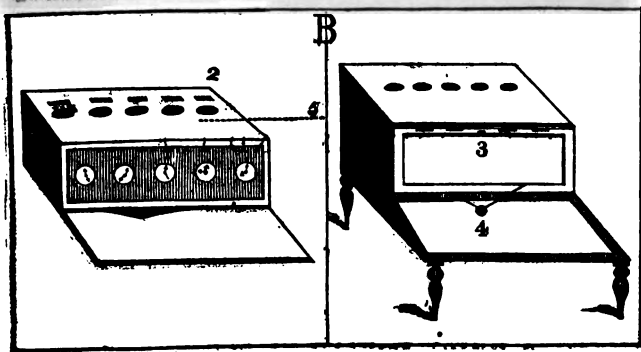
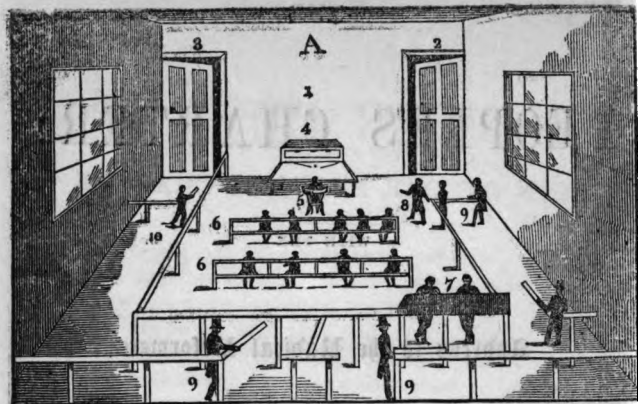
A BRIEF SKETCH OF ITS ORIGIN.



C. M. ELT, HIGH STREET, ISLINGTON; CHARLES FOX,
67, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1848.

PRICE TWOPENCE.



Schedule A, the Balloting Place.—1. The space separated off by a close partition, for the purposes of Secret Voting. 2. The entrance to the Ballot Box, where the voter gives his vote. 3. The door by which the voter retires. 4. The front of the Ballot Box, placed on a stand with an inclined plane, down which the balloting ball descends, to be ready for the next voter. 5. The seat of the deputy returning officer. 6. The seats of the Agents of the Candidates. 7. The desk of the Registration Clerk and his Assistant. 8. The Assistant, who delivers the balloting ball to the voters. 9. Assistants and Constables, who examine the certificates, and let the voter pass on to the ballot. 10. A Constable, to stop any voter who may vote unfairly.

Schedule B, the Ballot Box.—1. The front of the Ballot Box, with the lid down, showing five dials (or any number that may be necessary), on which are engraven (or otherwise) numerals, from one to any number of thousands that may be required, with hands (like the minute and hour hands of a clock) to register the number of votes. 2. The apertures, with the Candidates' names opposite, through which each voter drops a Brass Ball, which, falling in a zig-zag direction, touches a clock-work spring, which moves a pinion on which the hands are fastened, and thus registers one each time a person votes. 3. The front of the Ballot Box, with the lid up and sealed. 4. The Stand, with the Ball running down. 5. The line of the partition which makes the two rooms.

N.B.—We understand that a Ballot Box of this description, has been invented by Mr. Benjamin Jolly, 19, York Street, Bath, and it is so constructed that not more than one ball can be put in at a time by any voter.

050 8.11.13

JN 227
P 4
1848



A BRIEF SKETCH

OF THE

ORIGIN OF THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER.

1. The following brief sketch of the origin of the People's Charter may not be void of interest at this period, when that important document engrosses so large a share of public attention. It had its origin with a political society, entitled the "London Working Men's Association," a body well known to the radical public from the able addresses it put forth on various subjects. At the first public meeting called by this Association, at the Crown and Anchor, Strand, on the 28th of February, 1837, a very important petition to the House of Commons was adopted and signed by 3,000 persons; it was drawn up by the Secretary of the Association, Mr. W. Lovett, and the prayer of that petition was an *abstract* of the document to which the name of the People's Charter was subsequently given. Mr. Roebuck was requested to present the petition to parliament, and he, desiring to make a motion thereon, induced the Association to call a meeting at the British Coffee House, Cockspur Street, in May following, of all those members of the House of Commons, who by their speeches or writings, were supposed to be in favor of universal suffrage. Several members attended—Mr. Lovett was appointed to introduce the subject on the part of the Association, and after much interesting discussion, which lasted for two evenings, four very important resolutions were agreed to. One was a resolution for supporting Mr. Roebuck on the motion he was to make on the petition; one agreeing to vote for a bill on all the principles of radical representation; one to vote for a bill for a reform of the House of Lords; and the other a resolution appointing a committee for the drawing up of those bills.

2. These resolutions having been fairly written out, were signed the following day by Daniel O'Connell, Charles Hindley, W. S. Crawford, John Fielden, T. Wakley, D. W. Harvey, T. P. Thompson, J. A. Roebuck, and Dr. Bowring. The committee appointed for drawing up the said bills were Messrs. O'Connell, Roebuck, Leader, Hindley, Colonel Thompson, Crawford, Lovett,

Hetherington, Vincent, Cleave, Watson, and Moore,—the last six being members of the Association. The death of William IV. having led to a dissolution of parliament, nothing could be done till the new one was chosen ; and unfortunately for the motion on the petition, Mr. Roebuck lost his seat as member for Bath. However, when the committee met, it was resolved to have but *one* general act of parliament, and Messrs. Roebuck and Lovett were appointed to prepare it, but the former gentleman being much occupied at that period, the first draft was written by Mr. Lovett. This was subsequently amended at the suggestion of the committee and other political friends, and was finally printed and sent round for the consideration of the Working Men's Associations and Radical Associations of the kingdom, many of whom sent suggestions respecting it. The first edition of the Charter was published in 1838. It may be well to state that such was the respect entertained by great numbers of the middle classes in favor of the exertions of the Working Men's Association in the great work of political and social reform at that period, that the first meeting called in London in support of the People's Charter was called by requisition of the electors of Westminster, and holden in Palace Yard, the High Bailiff presiding. We regret, however, to state that all these growing promises of good, tending to the union of the two classes in favor of reform, were frustrated by the blustering and fighting projects of the physical force party, who had hitherto been engaged in the anti-poor-law warfare. These men appealing to the violent feelings of society, soon disgusted a great number of adherents, and ultimately by their intolerance drove them altogether out of the ranks of Chartism : and we are sorry to perceive that they are still, by their mischievous conduct, trying to keep those asunder who ought to be united against the common enemy. We trust, however, that the efforts that are now being made for a separation between the violence and folly on the one hand, and just principles on the other, will cause the middle classes to rally in support of their peaceably-disposed working-class brethren, and thus cause the just principles of representation contained in the *People's Charter* to be triumphant for good.

London, April, 1848.

THE WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION
TO THE
RADICAL REFORMERS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,—Having frequently stated our reasons for zealously espousing the great principles of reform, we have now endeavoured to set them forth practically. We need not reiterate the facts and unrefuted arguments which have so often been stated and urged in their support. Suffice it to say, that we hold it to be an axiom in politics, that self-government by representation is the only just foundation of political power—the only true basis of constitutional rights—the only legitimate parent of good laws ;—and we hold it as an indubitable truth, that all government which is based on any other foundation, has a perpetual tendency to degenerate into anarchy or despotism, or to beget class and wealth idolatry on the one hand, poverty and misery on the other.

While, however, we contend for the principle of self-government, we admit that laws will only be just in proportion as the people are enlightened, on which, socially and politically, the happiness of all must depend ; but as self-interest, unaccompanied by virtue, seeks its own exclusive benefit, so will the exclusive and privileged classes of society ever seek to perpetuate their power, and to proscribe the enlightenment of the people.—Hence we are induced to believe that the enlightenment of all will sooner emanate from the exercise of political power by all the people, than by their continuing to trust to the selfish government of the few.

A strong conviction of these truths, coupled, as that conviction is, with the belief that most of our political and social evils can be traced to *corrupt* and *exclusive legislation*—and that the remedy will be found in extending to the people at large, the exercise of those rights, now monopolized by a few, has induced us to make some exertions towards embodying our principles in the following Charter.

We are the more inclined to take some practicable step in favor of reform, from the frequent disappointments the cause has experienced. We have heard eloquent

effusions in favor of political equality, from the hustings and the senate house, suddenly change into prudent reasonings on property privileges, at the winning smile of the minister. We have seen depicted, in glowing language, bright patriotic promises of the future, which have left impressions on us more lasting than the perfidy or apostacy of the writers. We have seen one zealous Reformer after another desert us, as his party was triumphant, or his interests served. We have perceived the tone of those whom we have held as champions of our cause, lowered to the accommodation of selfish electors, or restrained by the slavish fear of losing their seats. We have, therefore, resolved to test the sincerity of the remainder, by proposing that something shall be done in favor of those principles they profess to admire.

In June last, we called a general meeting of our members, and invited to attend that meeting all those members of parliament, who, by their speeches and writings, we were induced to believe were advocates of Universal Suffrage. Several did attend, and after some discussion, another meeting was proposed, at which several members of parliament pledged themselves by resolutions signed by their own hands, "*that they would bring in and support a Bill for Universal Suffrage, Equal Representation, Short Parliaments, the Ballot, &c.*" They also passed another resolution at that meeting, appointing persons to draw up such Bill.

Many circumstances transpired to cause the great delay that took place, but the following *outline* of an Act of Parliament is the result of our exertions. As a Bill in detail, embracing all the legal technicalities required, would be very expensive in the printing, and but ill adapted for the general reader, the present outline has been preferred.

It has often been urged, that Universal Suffrage, as well as all the other essentials to the free exercise of that right, could not be reduced to practice. This is, therefore, an attempt to show the contrary; and we think it would be practically found to be a simpler, cheaper, and better mode of securing to the whole people their elective rights, than the present expensive machinery, by which the rich and ambitious few are enabled to pauperize and enslave the industrious many.

Although this may be a new form of putting forward our claims, they are in themselves by no means new.

In former times, parliaments were only *sessional*, and the members received pay for their attendance. In the year 1780, the Duke of Richmond introduced a Bill into the House of Lords, for the purpose of establishing *Annual Parliaments*, and giving the right of voting to *every man not contaminated by crime nor incapacitated for want of reason*. Three years after this, in his celebrated letter to Colonel Sharman, he says, "The subject of parliamentary reform is that which, of all others, most deserves the attention of the public, as I conceive it would include every other advantage which a nation can wish; and I have no hesitation in saying, that from every consideration which I have been able to give to this great question, that for many years has occupied my mind, and from every day's experience to the present hour, I am more and more convinced that the **RESTORING the right of voting to every man universally, who is not incapacitated by nature for want of reason, or by law for the commission of crimes, together with annual elections, is the only reform that can be effectual and permanent.**"

In 1780, the electors of Westminster, in public meeting, appointed a committee, out of which a sub-committee was appointed to take into consideration the election of members of parliament. Charles James Fox, the leader of the Whigs, and Thomas Brand Hollis, Esq., were the chairmen of these committees. In their report to the electors they recommended—

1. Annual Parliaments.
2. Universal Suffrage.
3. Equal Voting Districts.
4. No Property Qualification.
5. Voting by Ballot.
6. Payment of Members.

The "Society of Friends of the People," was established in 1792, by Chas. Grey, Esq., (now Earl Grey,) the Hon. Thos. Erskine, Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Mackintosh, several noblemen and members of the House of Commons. In 1795, they resolved to publish a Declaration, in which the right of voting should be so moderate *that there should be no condition in life in which it might not be acquired by labour, by industry, or talents.*

These are the doings of the Whigs of former times, persons whose speeches on every other subject our modern Whigs quote with ancestral reverence, as texts from holy writ.—Like every other irresponsible body, they have, however, degenerated. The only remedy for the evil, is to render Whig, Tory, and Radical legislators alike responsible to the people; and to instruct the people in a knowledge of their rights and duties.

We could wish it to be engraven on the memory of every Reformer, "that the people *must be free* in proportion as they Will it,"—not by foolishly lending themselves to bigotry or party to become the instruments of the conceited, or selfishly ambitious, as they have too often done—nor by *violently* overthrowing the empire of title, the folly of privilege, or the dominion of wealth; for the experience of the past has clearly written for our guidance, that a change of men is not always a reformation in principle; and when a knowledge of their rights and duties shall have taught the people that their own vices and ignorance are the chief instruments by which they are bowed to the dust, titles, privileges, and wealth will lose their potency to enslave them.

Fellow-countrymen, the object we contemplated in the drawing up of this Bill was to cause the Radicals of the kingdom to form, if possible, a concentration of their principles in a practical form, upon which they could be brought to unite, and to which they might point, as a CHARTER they are determined to obtain.

Copies of this outline were forwarded to most of the Working Men's Associations and Radical Associations in the kingdom, and it has met with general approbation. It has been adopted at several large public meetings in different parts of the country, and, among others, at the great Birmingham meeting of the 6th of August, 1838, where upwards of 200,000 persons were present. We also received very valuable suggestions for its improvement from a great number of societies, and this revision is made (as far as our judgement deems it reasonable) to accord with the wishes of the majority. We still court suggestions for its improvement, our object being to make the details as perfect as theory will enable us to do, especially as we have the history of the Reform Bill, and all its anomalies, fresh in our remembrance to profit by.

The next Session of Parliament, when the great

NATIONAL PETITION is presented, individuals will be selected to introduce this CHARTER to the Legislature, and we anticipate that by that time a considerable number will be added to the members *who are now pledged to support it*. In the interim, we hope that electors and non-electors will continue to make it the pledge of their candidates; will seek to extend its circulation; talk over its principles; and resolve, that as public opinion forced the Whig Reform Bill, so in like manner shall this Bill eventually become the law of England.

In drawing it up we have found some difficulty in fixing the requisite qualifications of electors, because of many of the barbarous and unjust laws, which corrupt and selfish legislators have enacted. While, for instance, we agree with most reformers that felony should lead to the deprivation of political rights, we think the law which makes it felony for a boy to steal an apple, or to kill a wild animal which crosses his path, is as cruel as it is unjust.

We also think that the present alien laws, which had their origin in the bigoted and prejudiced feelings of other days, should be so modified as to permit the right of citizenship to those, who for some definite period, have taken up their abode among us, and are willing to declare their allegiance as citizens; and thus break down those barriers which kingcraft and priestcraft have erected to divide man from his brother man.

Among the suggestions we received for improving this Charter, is one for embracing women among the possession of the franchise. Against this reasonable proposition we have no just argument to adduce, but only to express our fears of entertaining it, lest the false estimate man entertains of this half of the human family may cause his ignorance and prejudice to be enlisted to retard the progress of his own freedom.

And, therefore, we deem it far better to lay down just principles, and look forward to the rational improvement of society, than to entertain propositions which may retard the measure we wish to promote.

In conclusion, we think that no unprejudiced man can reflect on the present unjust and exclusive state of the franchise,—where property, however unjustly acquired, is possessed of rights, that knowledge the most extensive, and conduct the most exemplary, fail to attain—can witness the demoralizing influence of wealth in the legislature—the bribery, perjury, tumults, and dis-

orders attendant on the present mode of elections—but must admit that the object contemplated is worthy of the task we have imposed upon ourselves, however we may have fallen short in providing an efficient remedy.

We remain, fellow-countrymen, yours respectfully, the members of the Working Men's Association.

Signed by the Committee, on their behalf,—

JOHN JAFFRAY, Bookbinder.
 WILLIAM SAVAGE, Warehouseman.
 HENRY MITCHELL, Turner.
 JOHN SKELTON, Shoemaker.
 DANIEL BINYON, Labourer.
 RICHARD CAMERON, Bracemaker.
 JAMES LAWRENCE, Painter.
 WILLIAM MOORE, Carver.
 ARTHUR DYSON, Compositor.
 JOHN ROGERS, Tailor.
 WILLIAM ISAACS, Typefounder.
 JAMES JENKINSON, Engraver.
 EDWARD THOMAS, Warehouseman.
 HENRY HETHERINGTON, Treasurer
 WILLIAM LOVETT, Secretary
 6, Upper North Place, Gray's Inn Road.

*London, May 8, 1838.**

* Date of the first edition previous to the great Birmingham meeting.

THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER;

BEING THE OUTLINE OF AN ACT

TO PROVIDE FOR THE

Just Representation of the People of Great Britain and Ireland

IN THE COMMONS' HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT,

EMBRACING THE PRINCIPLES OF

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, NO PROPERTY QUALIFICATION, ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS, EQUAL REPRESENTATION, PAYMENT OF MEMBERS, AND VOTE BY BALLOT.

Prepared by a Committee of Twelve Persons, Six Members of Parliament and Six Members of the London Working Men's Association, and addressed to the People of the United Kingdom.

Whereas, to insure, in as far as it is possible by human forethought and wisdom, the just government of the people, it is necessary to subject those who have the power of making the laws to a wholesome and strict responsibility to those whose duty it is to obey them when made.

And whereas, this responsibility is best enforced through the instrumentality of a body which emanates directly from, and is itself immediately subject to, the whole people, and which completely represents their feelings and their interests ;

And, whereas, as the Commons' House of Parliament now exercises, in the name, and on the supposed behalf of the people, the power of making the laws, it ought, in order to fulfil with wisdom and with honesty the great duties imposed on it, to be made the most faithful and accurate representation of the people's wishes, feelings, and interests ;

Be it therefore enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act, every male inhabitant of these realms be entitled to vote for the election of a Member of Parliament ; subject, however, to the following conditions :—

1. That he be a native of these realms, or a foreigner who has lived in this country upwards of two years, and been naturalized.

2. That he be twenty-one years of age.
3. That he be not proved insane when the lists of voters are revised.
4. That he be not *undergoing the sentence of the law at the time when called upon to exercise the electoral right.*
5. That his electoral rights be not suspended for bribery at elections, or for personation, or for forgery of election certificates, according to the penalties of this Act.

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.

Be it enacted, I. That for the purpose of obtaining an equal representation of the people in the Commons' House of Parliament, the united kingdom be divided into three hundred electoral districts.*

II. That each such district contain, as nearly as may be, an equal number of inhabitants.

III. That the number of inhabitants be taken from the last census, and as soon as possible after the next ensuing decennial census shall have been taken, the electoral districts be made to conform thereto.

IV. That each electoral district be named after the principal city or borough within its limits.

V. That each electoral district return one representative to sit in the Commons' House of Parliament.

VI. That the Secretary of State, for the Home Department, shall appoint three competent persons as commissioners, and as many sub-commissioners as may be necessary for settling the boundaries of each of the 300 electoral districts, and so on from time to time, whenever a new decennial census of the people shall be taken.

VII. That the necessary expenses of the said commissioners, sub-commissioners, clerks, and other persons employed by them in the performance of their duties, be paid out of the public treasury.

REGISTRATION OFFICERS.

Be it enacted, That for the purpose of procuring an accurate registration of voters—for finally adjudicating in all cases of objections made against persons claiming to be registered—for receiving the nominations of Members of Parliament, and returning officers, and declaring their election—as well as for conducting and superin-

* There are, say 6,000,000 of men eligible to vote; this number, divided by 300, gives 20,000 to each member.

tending all matters connected with registration, nomination, and elections, according to the provisions of this Act—the following officers be appointed:—

1. Returning officers for each electoral district.
2. Deputy returning officers for each district.
3. A registration clerk for every parish containing number of inhabitants, or for every two or more parishes, if united for the purposes of this Act.

RETURNING OFFICER AND HIS DUTIES.

Be it enacted, I. That at the first general election after the passing of this Act, a returning officer be elected for every electoral district throughout the kingdom, and so in like manner at the end of *every year*.

II. That, at the end of every such period, the returning officer for each district be nominated in like manner, and elected at the same time as the Member of Parliament for the district; he shall be eligible to be re-elected.

III. That vacancies occasioned by the death, removal, or resignation of the returning officer, shall in like manner be filled up as vacancies for Members of Parliament, for the unexpired term of one year.

IV. That every returning officer shall appoint a deputy returning officer for the day of election, for every balloting place within his district, and in all cases be responsible for the just fulfilment of the duties of such deputies.

V. That it be the duty of the returning officer to appoint a registration clerk for every parish within his district containing number of inhabitants, or for every two or more parishes, if united for the purposes of this Act; and that in all cases he be responsible for the just fulfilment of the duties of such clerks.

VI. That he also see that proper balloting places, and such other erections as may be necessary, be provided by each parish, (or any number that may be united) and that the ballot boxes be made and provided according to the provisions of this Act.

VII. That he receive the lists of voters from all the parishes in his district, in which list shall be marked or specified the names of the persons who have been objected to by the registration clerks, or any other persons.

VIII. That between the first of April and the first of May in each year, he shall hold open courts of adjudication at such a number of places within his district as he may deem necessary, of which courts (place and time of meeting) he shall cause due notice to be given in each

parish of the district, and at the same time invite all persons who have made objections, and who have been objected to. And after hearing the statements that may be made by both parties, he shall finally adjudicate whether the voter's name be placed on the register or not.

IX. That the returning officer shall then cause to be made out alphabetical lists of all the registered voters in all the parishes within his district; which lists, signed and attested by himself, shall be used at all elections for the district. Such lists to be sold to the public at reasonably low prices.

X. That the returning officer receive all nominations for the member of his district, as well as for the returning officer of his district; and shall give public notice of the same according to the provisions of this Act; he shall also receive from the Speaker of the House of Commons the orders for any new election, in case of the death or resignation of the Member of the district; as well as the orders to superintend and conduct the election of any other district, in case of the death or resignation of the returning officer of such district.

XI. That the returning officer shall also receive the returns from all the parishes within his district on the day of the election; and on the day following the election he shall proclaim the state of the ballot as directed by this Act, and perform the several duties appertaining to his office, as herein made and provided.

XII. That the returning officer be paid for fulfilling the duties of his office the sum of _____ per annum, as herein-after mentioned.

XIII. That upon a petition being presented to the House of Commons, by at least one hundred qualified electors of *the district*, against any returning officer, of *the same*, complaining of corruption in the exercise of his office, or of incapacity, such complaints shall be enquired into by a committee of the House, consisting of seven members; and, on their report being read, the members present shall then determine whether such returning officer be or be not guilty, or be or be not incapacitated.

XIV. That, for conducting the first elections after the passing of this Act, a returning officer for each district be temporarily appointed by the Secretary of State, to perform the duties prescribed by this Act. He shall

resign his office as soon as the new one is appointed, and be paid as hereinafter mentioned.—See Penalties.

DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICER AND HIS DUTIES.

Be it enacted, I. That a deputy returning officer be appointed by the district returning officer, to preside at each balloting place on the day of election; such deputy to be subject and responsible to his authority, as well as to the provisions of this Act.

II. That it be the duty of the deputy returning officer to provide a number of competent persons, not exceeding _____ to aid him in taking the ballot, and for performing the necessary business thereof.

III. That the deputy returning officer shall see that proper registration lists are provided, and that the ballot begin at six o'clock in the morning precisely, and end at six o'clock in the afternoon of the same day.

IV. That the deputy returning officer, in the presence of the agents of the candidates, examine and seal the balloting boxes previously to the commencement of the balloting; he shall, in like manner, declare the number of votes for each candidate, and shall cause a copy¹ of *the same*, signed by himself, to be forwarded to the returning officer of the district, and another copy to the registration clerk of the parish.

V. That the deputy returning officer be paid for his services as hereinafter mentioned.—See Penalties.

REGISTRATION CLERK, AND HIS DUTIES.

Be it enacted, I. That a registration clerk be appointed by the district returning officer for every parish within his district containing _____ inhabitants; or for every two or more parishes that may be united for the purposes of this Act; such clerk to be responsible to his authority, as well as to the provisions of this Act.

II. That for the purpose of obtaining a correct registration of all the voters in each electoral district, the registration clerk of every parish, as aforesaid, throughout the kingdom, shall, on or before the first of February in each year, take or cause to be taken round to every dwelling house, *poor house*, or *union workhouse* in his parish, a printed notice of the following form:—

Mr. John Jones—you are hereby required, within six days from the date hereof, to fill up this list with the names of all male inhabitants of your house, of 21 years of age and upwards, stating their respective ages, and the time they have resided with you;

or, in neglect thereof, to forfeit the sum of one pound for every name omitted.

A. B., Registration Clerk.

Dated

NAME.	ADDRESS.	AGE.	TIME OF RESIDENCE.
John Jones.	6, Upper North Place.	21 Years.	3 Months.

N.B.—This list will be called for at the expiration of six days from this date.

III. That, at the expiration of six days, as aforesaid, the registration clerk shall collect, or cause to be collected, the aforesaid lists, and shall cause to be made out from them an alphabetical list of all persons who are of the proper age and residence to qualify them as voters, according to the provisions of this Act.

IV. That if the registration clerk shall have any just reasons to believe that the names, ages, or time of residence of any person inserted in the aforesaid list are falsely entered, or not in accordance with the provisions of this Act, he shall not refuse to insert them in his list of voters, but he shall write the words "objected to" opposite such names; and so in like manner against the names of every other person he may have just reason to consider ineligible according to the provisions of this Act.

V. That on or before the 8th of March in each year, the registration clerk shall cause the aforesaid alphabetical lists of voters to be stuck against all church and chapel doors, market-houses, town-halls, session-houses, poor-houses, and union work-houses, and such other conspicuous places as he may deem necessary, from the 8th of March till the 22nd. He shall also cause a copy of such list to lie at his office, to be perused by any person, without a fee, at all reasonable hours; and copies of the said list shall be sold to the public at a reasonably low price.

VI. That on or before the 25th of March the registration clerk shall take, or cause to be taken, a copy of the aforesaid list of voters to the returning officer of his district, which list shall be signed by himself, and be presented as a just and impartial list, according to his judgement, of all persons within his parish who are eligi-

ble according to their claims, as well as of those who have been objected to by himself or other persons.

VII. That the registration clerk shall attend the court of adjudication, according to the notice he shall receive from the returning officer, to revise his list, and shall perform all the duties of his office as herein provided.

VIII. That the registration clerk be paid for his services in the manner hereinafter mentioned.

ARRANGEMENT FOR REGISTRATION.

Be it enacted, I. That every householder, as well as every person occupying or having charge of a dwelling-house, *poor-house, or union workhouse*, who shall receive a notice from the registration clerk as aforesaid, shall cause the said notice to be correctly filled up with the names, ages, and time of residence of every male inmate or inhabitant of his or her house, of twenty-one years of age and upwards, within six days of the date of such notice, and shall carefully preserve the same till it is called for by the registration clerk, or his proper officer.

II. That when the list of voters is made out from these notices, and stuck on the church doors *and places* as aforesaid, any person who finds his name not inserted in the list, and who believes he is duly qualified as a voter, shall, on presenting to the registration clerk a notice in the following form, have his name added to the list of voters:—

I, John Jones, carpenter, residing at in the district of , being twenty-one years of age, and having resided at the above place during the last three months, require to be placed on the list of voters, as a qualified elector for the said district.

III. That any person who is qualified as a voter in any electoral district, and shall have removed to any other parish *within the said district*, on presenting to the registration clerk of the parish he then resides in, his voter's certificate as proof of this, or the written testimony of any registration clerk who has previously registered him, he shall be entitled to be placed on the list of voters as aforesaid.

IV. That if an elector of any parish in the district have any just grounds for believing that any person disqualified by this Act has been put upon any parish register within the said district, he may, at any season-

able hour, between the 1st and 20th day of March, cause the following notices to be delivered: one at the residence of the registration clerk, and the other at the residence of the person objected to; and the registration clerk shall, in like manner, send notice of the grounds of objection to all persons he may object to, as aforesaid:—

TO THE REGISTRATION CLERK.

I, William Smith, elector of the parish of _____ in the district of _____ object to A. B. being on the register of voters, believing him to be disqualified.

Dated this day, &c.

TO THE PERSON OBJECTED TO.

Mr. A. B. of _____, I, William Smith, elector of the parish of _____, in the district of _____, object to your name being on the register of voters, for the following reasons:—(here state the reasons)—and I will support my objections by proofs before the returning officer of the district.

Dated this day, &c.

V. That if the person thus objecting neglect to attend the court of the returning officer at the proper time to state his objections, he shall be fined ten shillings for every such neglect, the same to be levied on his goods and chattels, provided he is not prevented from attending by sickness or accident, in which case his medical certificate, or a certificate signed by ten voters certifying such fact, shall be forwarded to the returning officer, who shall then determine whether the claim to be put on the register be allowed or not.

VI. That if the person objected to fails to attend the court of the returning officer at the proper time, to substantiate his claim, his name shall be erased from the register; provided he is not prevented by sickness or accident, in which case a certificate shall be forwarded, and the returning officer shall determine, as before directed.

VII. That if it should be proved before the returning officer, in his open court of adjudication, that any person has frivolously or vexatiously objected to any one being placed on the list of voters, such person objecting shall be fined twenty shillings *and expenses*, the same to be levied on his goods and chattels, and *paid to the person objected to*.

VIII. That as early as possible after the lists are revised as aforesaid, the returning officer shall cause a

copy of the same to be forwarded to every registration clerk within his district.

IX. That the registration clerk of every parish shall then correctly copy from such list the name, age, and residence of every qualified elector within his parish or parishes, into a book made for that purpose, and shall place a number opposite each name. He shall then, within _____ days, take, or cause to be taken, to all such electors, a voter's certificate of the following form, the number on which shall correspond with the number in the aforesaid book :—

No. 123. This is to certify that James Jones, of _____ is eligible to vote for one person to be returned to Parliament (as well as for the returning officer) for the district of _____ for one year from the date hereof.

Dated

Registration Clerk.

X. That if any person lose his voter's certificate by fire, or any other accident, he shall not have a new certificate till the next registration; but on the day of any election, if he can establish his identity, on the testimony of two witnesses, to the satisfaction of the registration clerk, as being the qualified voter described in the registration book, he shall be allowed to vote.

XI. That the returning officer is hereby authorized and commanded to attach any small parishes to any adjacent parish within his district, for the purposes of this Act, and not otherwise; and in like manner to unite all extra-parochial places to some adjacent parish.—See Penalties.

ARRANGEMENT FOR NOMINATIONS.

Be it enacted, I. That for the purpose of guarding against too great a number, who might otherwise be heedlessly proposed, as well as for giving time for the electors to inquire into the merits of the persons who may be nominated for Members of Parliament, as well as for returning officers, that all nominations be taken as hereinafter directed.

II. That for all general elections of Members of Parliament a requisition of the following form, signed by at least one hundred qualified electors of the district, be delivered to the returning officer of the district, between the 1st and 10th day of May in each year; and that such requisition constitute the nomination of such person as a candidate for the district :—

We, the undersigned electors of the district of _____, recommend A. B., of _____, as a fit and proper person to represent the people of this district in the Commons' House of Parliament, the said A. B. being qualified to be an elector according to the provisions of this Act.

Dated, &c.

Signed,

III. That the returning officer of every electoral district shall, on or before the 13th of May in each year, cause a list of all the candidates thus nominated to be stuck up against all church and chapel doors, market-houses, town-halls, session-houses, *poor-houses and union workhouses*, and such other conspicuous places within his district as he may deem necessary.

IV. That whenever a vacancy is occasioned, in any district, by the death, resignation, or other cause, of the Member of Parliament, the returning officer of that district shall, within three days after the receipt of his orders from the Speaker of the House of Commons, give notice thereof in all the parishes of his district, in the manner described for giving notices, and he shall at the same time request all nominations to be made as aforesaid within ten days from the receipt of his order, and shall also appoint the day of election within eighteen days from the receipt of such order from the Speaker of the House of Commons.

V. That if from any circumstance no person has been nominated as a *Candidate* for the district on or before the 10th of May, persons may then be nominated in the manner described as aforesaid, at any time previous to the 20th day of May, but not *after that date*.

VI. That at the first election, after the passing of this Act, and at the expiration of *every year*, the nomination of candidates for the returning officer be made in the same manner as for Members of Parliament, and nominations for vacancies that may occur in like manner.

VII. That if two or more persons are nominated as aforesaid for members to serve in Parliament for the district, the returning officer shall, at any time between the 15th and 31st of May, (Sundays excepted), appoint such times and places (not exceeding _____) as he shall think most convenient to the electors of the district for the candidates to appear before them, then and there to explain their views and solicit the suffrage of the electors.

VIII. That the returning officer see that the places above described be convenient for the purpose, and that as many such erections be put up as may be necessary; the same to be paid for by the returning officer, and charged in his account as hereinafter mentioned.

XI. That for the purpose of keeping good order and public decorum, the returning officer either take the chair at such meetings himself, or appoint a deputy for that purpose.

X. That provided only one candidate be proposed for a Member of Parliament for the district by the time hereinbefore mentioned, the returning officer shall cause notice to be given as hereinafter mentioned, that such candidate is elected a member for the district, and if only one candidate be proposed for the returning officer, he shall in like manner be declared duly elected.

XI. That no other qualification shall be required than the choice of electors, according to the provisions of this Act, providing that no persons, (excepting the Cabinet Ministers), be eligible to serve in the Commons' House of Parliament, who are in the receipt of any emolument derivable from any place or places held under government, or of retired allowances arising therefrom.—See Penalties.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR ELECTIONS.

Be it enacted, I. That a general election of Members of Parliament for all the electoral districts of the United Kingdom take place on the first Monday in June in each year; and that all vacancies by death or otherwise, shall be filled up as nearly as possible within eighteen days after they occur,

II. That a general election of returning officers for all the districts take place, at the expiration of every year, on the first Monday in June, and at the same time Members of Parliament are to be elected; and all vacancies be filled up, as nearly as possible, within eighteen days after they occur.

III. That every person who has been registered as aforesaid, and who has a voter's certificate, shall have the right of voting in the district in which he has been registered, and in that only, and of voting for the Members of Parliament for that district, and the returning officer for the district, and for those only.

IV. That for the purpose of taking the votes of the qualified electors, the parish officer in every parish of

the district, (or in every two or more parishes if united for that purpose), shall cause proper places to be provided, so as to admit of the arrangements described in Schedule A ; and so constructed (either permanently or temporarily as they may think proper) that the votes may be taken with due despatch, and so as to secure the elector while voting from being inspected by any other person.

V. That the parish officers of every parish in this district provide a sufficient number of balloting boxes, made after a model described in Schedule B, (or made on one plan by persons appointed to make them, as was the case with weights and measures,) and none but such boxes, duly certified, shall be used.

VI. That immediately preceding the commencement of the balloting, each ballot-box shall be opened by the deputy returning officer, (or otherwise examined as [the case may be), in the presence of an agent appointed by each candidate, and shall then be sealed by him and by the agents of the candidates, and not again be opened until the balloting is finally closed, when notice shall be given to such of the agents of the candidates as may then be present to attend the opening of the boxes, and ascertaining the number of votes for each candidate.

VII. That the deputy returning officer preside in the front of the ballot-box, and see that the balloting is conducted with strict impartiality and justice ; and that the various clerks, assistants, and parish constables properly perform their respective duties, and that strict order and decorum be preserved among the friends of the candidates, as well as among all persons employed in conducting the election ; and he is hereby authorized and empowered to cause all persons to be taken into custody who interrupt the proceedings of the election, seek to contravene the provisions of this Act, or fail to obey his lawful authority.

VIII. That during the time the balloting is going on, two agents of each candidate may be in the space fronting the ballot-box, and immediately behind the deputy returning officer, in order that they may see that the election is fairly conducted ; such persons to be provided by the deputy returning officer with cards of admission, and to pass in and out by the entrance assigned them.

IX. That the registration clerk of every parish in

the district, who has been appointed for the purposes of registration, be at the balloting place, in the station assigned him, previously to the commencement of the balloting and see that no person pass on to the balloting place till he has examined his certificate, and seen that it corresponds with the registration list.

X. That the parish constables and the officers stationed at the entrance of the balloting place, shall not permit any person to enter unless he shews his voter's certificate, except the persons employed in conducting the election; or those persons who have proved the loss of their voter's certificate.

XI. That at the end of every year, or whenever the returning officer is elected at the same time as the member for the district, a division shall be made in the balloting place, and the boxes and balloting so arranged as to ensure the candidates the strictest impartiality and justice, by preventing the voter from giving two votes for either of the candidates.

XII. That on the day of election, the balloting commence at six o'clock in the forenoon, and terminate at six o'clock in the afternoon of the same day.

XIII. That when any voter's certificate is examined by the registration clerk and found to be correct, he shall be allowed to pass on to the next barrier, where a balloting ball shall be given him by the person appointed for that purpose; he shall then pass on to the balloting box, and with all due despatch, shall put the balloting ball into the aperture opposite the name of the candidate he wishes to vote for, after which he shall without delay, leave the room by the door assigned for the purpose.—See Schedules A and B.

XIV. That at the close of the balloting, the deputy returning officer, in the presence of the agents of the candidates and other persons present, shall break open the seals of the balloting box, and ascertain the number for each candidate: he shall then cause copies of the same to be publicly posted outside the balloting place, and immediately forward (by a trusty messenger) a copy of the same, signed by himself and the agents present, to the returning officer of the district; he shall then deliver a similar copy to the registration clerk, who shall carefully preserve the same, and produce it if necessary.

XV. That the persons employed as assistants for in-

speaking the certificates, and attending on the balloting, be paid as hereafter mentioned.

XVI. That all the expenses of registration, nomination, and election, as aforesaid, together with the salaries of the returning officers, registration clerks, assistants, constables, and such other persons as may be necessary, as well as the expenses of all balloting places, balloting boxes, hustings, and other necessaries for the purposes of this Act, be paid out of an equitable district-rate, which a District Board, composed of one parochial officer chosen by each of the parishes in the district, or for any two or more parishes, if united for the purposes of this Act, are hereby empowered and commanded to levy on all householders within the district.

XVII. That all expenses necessary for the purposes of this Act incurred within the district, be paid by the District Board as aforesaid, or their treasurer; that the salaries of all officers and assistants required for the purposes of this Act be fixed and paid by the said Board according to the expenses and duties of the various localities.*

XVIII. That all accounts of receipts and expenditure for electoral purposes shall be kept distinct, and be audited by auditors appointed by the District Board as aforesaid; copies of which accounts shall be printed for the use of the respective parishes in the district.

XIX. That all canvassing for Members of Parliament, as well as for returning officers, is hereby declared to be illegal, and meetings for that purpose during the balloting on the day of election, are hereby also declared to be illegal.—See Penalties.

DURATION OF PARLIAMENT.

Be it enacted, I. That the Members of the House of Commons chosen as aforesaid, shall meet on the first Monday in June in each year, and continue their sittings from time to time as they may deem it convenient,

* The Committee having considered that, as the duties and expenses of all these various offices will greatly vary, according to their localities, it will be unwise to have a sum fixed by Parliament, and paid out of the treasury. Believing, moreover, that a just system of representation will soon purify the local corruptions that exist, they think that the united expenditure will be much less under the immediate superintendence of the local authorities, when responsible to the people, than under the management of Government and their subordinate agents.

till the first Monday in June following, when the next new Parliament *shall* be chosen; they shall be eligible to be re-elected.

II. That during an adjournment they be liable to be called together by the Executive in case of emergency.

III. That a register be kept of the daily attendance of each Member, which, at the close of the session shall be printed as a sessional paper, showing how the Members have attended.

PAYMENT OF MEMBERS.

Be it enacted, I. That every Member of the House of Commons be entitled, at the close of the session, to a writ of expenses on the Treasury, for his legislative duties in the public service; and shall be paid per annum.*

RESIGNATIONS AND DEATHS.

I. That any Member of the House of Commons who may wish to resign his seat, shall notify the same to the Speaker, who is hereby authorised and commanded, without delay, to cause the said notice to be delivered to the district returning officer for a new election according to the provisions of this Act.

II. That on the death of any Member of Parliament or returning officer, the registrar of deaths, whose duty it is to record the same, shall within three days after he has received such notice, forward an account of such death to the Speaker of the House of Commons, who is hereby authorised and commanded to give his orders as aforesaid; provided always, that if such Members or returning officers should have died abroad, the next of kin of such deceased person shall give notice as aforesaid as early as possible after such death.

PENALTIES.

Be it enacted, I. That if any person cause himself to be registered in more than one electoral district, and vote in more than one such district, upon conviction thereof before any two justices of the peace in either of such districts, he shall incur for the first offence the

* The Committee understand that the DAILY payment of Members of Parliament has operated beneficially in Canada: but they fear that such mode of payment holds out a motive for lengthening the sessions unnecessarily: and if the time of sitting is limited by law, it may lead to too hasty legislation, both of which evils are obviated by an annual payment.

penalty of three months' imprisonment, and for the second offence twelve months' imprisonment.

II. That any person who shall be convicted as aforesaid of wilfully neglecting to fill up his or her notice within the proper time, or of leaving out the name of any inmate in his or her notice, shall for the first offence incur the penalty of *one pound for every name omitted* : and for the second offence incur the penalty of *three months' imprisonment, and be deprived of his elective rights for three years.*

III. That any person who shall be convicted as aforesaid of forging any name, age, or time of residence on any notice, shall for the first offence incur the penalty of *three months' imprisonment, and for the second offence three months' imprisonment, and be deprived of his elective rights for three years.*

IV. That any person who shall be convicted as aforesaid of having in any manner obtained the certificate of an elector other than his own, and of having voted or attempted to vote by means of such false certificate, shall for the first offence incur the penalty of *three months' imprisonment, and for the second offence three months' imprisonment and be deprived of his elective rights for three years.*

V. That any person who shall be convicted as aforesaid of having forged a voter's certificate, or of having forged the name of any person to any certificate ; or of having voted or attempted to vote on such forged certificate, knowing such to have been forged, shall for the first offence incur the penalty of *three months' imprisonment, and for the second offence three months' imprisonment and be deprived of his elective rights for three years.*

VI. That any person who shall be convicted as aforesaid of having forged, or caused to be forged, the names of any voters to a requisition nominating a Member of Parliament or returning officer, shall for the first offence incur the penalty of *three months' imprisonment, and for the second offence three months' imprisonment, and be deprived of his elective rights for three years.*

VII. That any person who shall be convicted as aforesaid of bribery, in order to secure his election, shall for the first offence incur the penalty of *two years' imprisonment, and for the second offence shall be imprisoned two years, and be deprived of his elective rights for five years.*

VIII. That any agent of any candidate, or any other person, who shall be convicted as aforesaid of bribery at any election, shall for the first offence incur the penalty of twelve months' imprisonment, and for the second offence twelve months' imprisonment and be deprived of his elective rights for five years.

IX. That any person who shall be convicted as aforesaid of going from house to house, or place to place, to solicit in any way votes in favour of any *Candidate for Parliament* or returning officer, after the nomination as aforesaid, shall for the first offence incur the penalty of one month's imprisonment, and for the second offence two months'.

X. That any person who shall be convicted as aforesaid of calling together, or causing an election meeting to be held in any district during the day of election, shall for the first offence incur the penalty of three months' imprisonment, and for the second offence six months'.

XI. That any person who shall be convicted as aforesaid of interrupting the balloting, or the business of the election, shall incur the penalty of three months' imprisonment for the first offence, and six months' for the second.

XII. That if any messenger who may be sent with the state of the ballot to the returning officer, or with any other notice, shall wilfully delay the same, or in any way by his consent or conduct cause the same to be delayed, on conviction as aforesaid shall incur the penalty of six months' imprisonment.

XIII. That any returning officer who shall be convicted as aforesaid of having neglected to appoint proper officers as directed by this Act, to see that proper balloting places and balloting boxes are provided, and to give the notices and perform the duties herein required of him, he shall forfeit for each *case of* neglect the sum of £20.

XIV. That if any returning officer be found guilty of bribery or corrupt practices in the execution of any of the duties herein assigned to him, he shall incur the penalty of twelve months' imprisonment, and be deprived of his elective rights for five years.

XV. That if any deputy returning officer be convicted as aforesaid of having neglected to perform any of the duties herein assigned him, he shall forfeit for such neglect three pounds.

XVI. That if any deputy returning officer be convicted as aforesaid of bribery or corrupt practices in the execution of the duties of his office, he shall incur the penalty of six months' imprisonment and the deprivation of his elective rights for *three* years.

XVII. That if any registration clerk be convicted as aforesaid of having neglected to perform any of the duties herein assigned him, he shall forfeit for each such case of neglect five pounds.

XVIII. That if any registration clerk be convicted as aforesaid of bribery or corrupt practices in the execution of the duties of his office, he shall incur the penalty of six months' imprisonment, and the deprivation of his elective rights for *three* years.

XIX. That if the parochial officers in any parish neglect or refuse to comply with any of the provisions of this Act, they shall forfeit for every such neglect or non-compliance with the provisions of this Act the sum of fifty pounds, or in default of payment, twelve months' imprisonment.

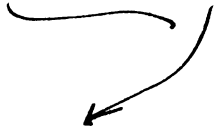
XX. That all fines and penalties incurred under the provisions of this Act be recoverable before any two justices of the peace, within the district where the offence shall have been committed, and in default of payment the said justices shall issue their warrant of distress against the goods and chattels of the offender; or in default of sufficient distress, he shall be imprisoned, according to the provisions of this Act.

That all Acts and parts of Acts relating to registration, nominations, or elections of *Members of Parliament* as well as duration of Parliament and sitting of Members, are hereby repealed.



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